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Blood Indian Personality: A Study in Alienation and Educational Attainment

Thesis Proposal

Submitted by

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Abstract

The basic purpose of this study is to replicate the Bryde Study (1966), verify its propositions and findings, modify its rationale and extend its experimental design.

This study will attempt to attain its goal of determining non-intellectual correlates of educational achievement reductions with increasing grade level by analyzing the personality and achievement variables of 247 Blood Indian Junior High School students. In the Bryde manner, a growing alienation is theorized as central in this developmental process. Achievement indices will be correlated with measures of alienation and its components, comprising primarily powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation, as well as with occupational status of the parents or guardians. Together with measures of intelligence, needs for social approval and prejudice will also be assessed for one subsample of Blood students, and in turn will be correlated with the personality and achievement variables. Comparisons will be made with 643 White students, who are the classmates of the Blood sample.

In light of findings of the Bryde Study and of the Ermineskin Pilot Project (Couture, 1968b), it is expected that strong support will be gained for the view that alienation plays an increasing role in the performance of these pupils.

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Blood Indian Personality: A Study in Alienation and Educational Attainment

I. General Problem

This study arises out of an interest in what happens to the behavior of participant individuals within the broad process of cultural change. The focus is on the phenomenon of the acculturation of Plains' Indians, the impact thereof on their personalities, and the relationship of this impact to educational achievement. It will be concerned particularly with Blood Indian pupils of South Alberta.

When, as Bryde (1966, p. 1) indicates, the economics of a way of living are destroyed, the values rooted therein tend to retain their dynamisms and yet at the same time they tend to remain relatively inoperant or ineffectual within the new culture, usurpant of the old. This is essentially the situation of the many Plains' tribes. The natural economic base of these groups, of the Blood Indians for instance, was profoundly disrupted with the removal of the buffalo. This ecological upheaval had a marked effect on social and cultural patterns. This was brought about by a White alien culture attempting to force a new culture upon them, a culture foreign to traditional Indian values. The overriding result of this confrontation for the Indian was that in trying to function in terms of traditional behavior patterns, he met constant frustration. In this regard Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952, p. 80) have this to say:

"... persons in the transitional category, alienated as they are from the cultural symbols of their ethnic past and at the same time not having internalized the symbols which constitute the

value system of western society, will exhibit more symptoms of personality disorganization than members of groups closely identified with the symbols of either of these culture types."

In short, White behavior has been required of the Indian even though the Indian did not share White values. The result of this has been to initiate and maintain a situation of cultural stress or conflict. This conflict has had an adverse effect on personality which is particularly manifest in the educational failure of Indian students generally, and of Blood Indian students particularly. The foregoing general hypothesis provides the framework for this study.

The research proposed herein is intended to be basically an examination of the Bryde (1966) propositions, and a replication and extension of his Sioux investigations (these will be outlined in the next chapter). Very similar methods will be used, but within a modified conceptual context.

The need for replication studies hardly requires emphasis. Seeman (1967, p. 105) commenting on his alienation studies affirms

"One of the common complaints in the social sciences is that results turn out to be singular rather than plural. Direct replications are rare; and rarer still is any sustained effort to explore the degree of generality, or the limitations, that holds for the thesis under review."

With regard to the concept of alienation itself, Elmore (1963) and Seeman (1959) have demonstrated that both theoretically and statistically alienation appears to be complex in nature, and Spilka and Bryde (1964) point to the same conclusion. Previous attempts to explain Indian behavior in terms of an alienation theory, such as those of Bryde (1966), Bryde and Spilka (1964), Kerchkoff (1959), Tafft (1967) and the Waxses (1964, 1966) invite further exploration in this area.

In concurrence with Spilka and Bryde, this writer holds that the concept of alienation merits much further research in the hope of arriving at more definitive conclusions with reference especially to the social behavior of Indians.

While essentially in agreement with Bryde's use of an alienation theory, the background rationale of this study will include some modifications of Bryde's position. It is agreed that there is a need to establish the what, when and where of cultural change and stress. In other words, the historical foundations of Indian behavior need to be determined. However, this study will concern itself exclusively with the how of the current cultural process within a framework of multi-disciplinary theorizing in an attempt to reflect a sensitivity to the fact of socio-economic conditions eliciting emotional response and social adjustment. A second exclusion is made with reference to the relationship between culture and personality. We assume that there is a real relationship between the two, and do not therefore have to demonstrate such. On both counts, i.e., that of historical foundations, and of culture and personality, Bryde (1966, pp. 1-25) presents an excellent summary with reference to the Teton Sioux.

A cross-cultural position with regard to Indians requires further discussion. In Kaplan's (1961, p. 1) opinion, culture and personality studies have undergone two phases to date. In the first phase there was great use of ready-made methods and methodology. The stumbling block proved to be valid interpretation of the materials gathered. This situation led to the second phase. The realization came about that in the culture and personality field few easy answers are to be

found, and in Kaplan's words: "... the most fundamental and elementary issues still need clarification and research (p. 1)." This opinion indicates then that much further effort is required to delineate a variety of theoretical and methodological issues, as well as devise adequate methods for the collection and interpretation of data. It is recognized that personality study involves much more than personality *per se*. What are required are the perspectives of such other social sciences as ecology, economics, sociology, and anthropology, in order to better ascertain the interdependencies and interrelationships of the social and psychological variables involved (Thompson, 1956). Interdisciplinary collaboration is urgently needed in the cross-cultural study of Indian personality. However, while most students readily accept the logic of such a suggestion, it should be recognized that communication presents an inherent difficulty to this multi-approach. This is due to the different backgrounds, the differences in professional values, which lead students of cross-cultural personality study to conceptualize in quite different frameworks. For example, the sociologist and anthropologist, concerned with the problem of the cohesion and functioning of society, on the bases of social order and change, utilize personality data in a manner foreign to the psychologist and psychiatrist whose primary concern is that of the problem of personality development and function as such, including socio-cultural considerations only inasmuch as they bear on these problems. Until this gap between the two basic views is filled, workers will strive the best they can.

It is currently recognized that the data collected in cross-cultural empirical studies of personality may be misleading, and in some instances

incorrect (Kaplan, p. 4). The reason for this is simply the tendency over the years to apply techniques developed for application in our own society. The validity of the data presents a very basic problem. However, since there is still not a real science of cross-cultural study, there seems to be no good alternative to present practise.

Assuming that the preceding analysis of the difficulties of cross-cultural study is basically correct, this study will attempt to utilize psychological, as well as anthropological and sociological sources in the effort to grasp what appears to be a very complex situation confronting educators of Indian pupils.

Teachers in Indian schools, for instance, generally become quickly aware that they are faced with pupils who are products of a different cultural perspective. They are facing a real culture made up of modified remnants of the former culture combined with the relative isolation of a rural environment and a high level of poverty with its concomitants of physical and mental deprivations and frustrations. This situation is further complicated by the fact, and this is of special significance, that this setting is in turn within a broader and more pervasive and controlling context, i.e., that of traditional Canadian culture with its dominants of individual success and achievement. There is little doubt that traditional white, middle-class society will prevail for years to come. Therefore, social, political, and economic advancement on the part of Albertan Indians, for example, must be formulated and engineered in terms of the dominant culture. How this will be done is a basic problem (Couture, 1967b, p. 2). The empirical aspect of this investigation is viewed as set in the broad context

presented above.

A second reality that teachers in Indian schools strive to cope with is that of academic achievement. After achieving at or above the norm for standardized tests, in about the sixth or seventh grade Indian pupils usually begin a rapid and steady decline in achievement (Couture, 1967b). This "cross-over" phenomenon is accompanied by a high dropout rate (Couture, 1968a).

These educational difficulties present the general problem of this study which is that of asking what variables are related to the tendency of Blood Indian Junior High School pupils to steadily decline in school achievement, relative to Whites, with rise in grade and increase in age. Between group and within group comparisons will be made; further comparisons will be made with the findings of Bryde's (1966) study of South Dakota Sioux pupils, of which this portion of the current investigation is a partial replication.

In extension of Bryde's study, factor patterns amongst the personality variables of Blood Indians and of their White classmates will be compared, and ethnic differences in scores on the main factors emerging from the factor analysis will be examined with several variables such as occupational status controlled.

II. Related theory and research

Since the present investigation is closely related to Bryde's analysis of Sioux pupils, this chapter will begin with an outline of his study, essentially a paraphrase of his thesis abstract (1966, pp. 187-190). It will then follow a general to specific procedure, considering concepts of acculturation, of alienation, ending with a

discussion of Indian educational failure.

A. The Bryde Study (1966)

Bryde's goal was to study the correlates and possible causes of what is commonly referred to as the "cross-over" phenomenon as exhibited by Oglala Sioux Indian adolescents. This phenomenon is demonstrated by various groups of students who achieve for some time satisfactorily and then revert to a steady decline in achievement during their remaining school years.

He assumed that the confrontation of White and Indian cultures comes to focus at adolescence resulting in severe personality disturbances which block achievement. On the basis of this assumption, he hypothesized that 1) significant differences unfavorable to Indian students would be revealed through a comparison of Sioux Indian and White adolescents on achievement and MMPI variables; 2) that these unfavorable differences would correlate with degree of Indian blood; 3) that significantly greater personality disturbance would be observed in Indian dropouts in comparison to Indian students continuing in school.

The central focus of the study was 164 Indian and 76 White eighth grade groups. However, a total of 415 Indian and 223 White adolescents, divided into six different Indian-White groups and five within-Indian groups, were compared to effect as broad an appreciation of potential group differences as possible.

Bryde found evidence supportive of all his hypotheses. From the fourth to the sixth grade the Indian students scored significantly

higher than the national norm for achievement. The Indian students were significantly lower than the national test norms at the eighth grade level. On personality variables, the Indian students revealed consistently and significantly more disturbance on more variables than their White counterparts in all of the six White-Indian group comparisons. In each of the comparisons, the Indian groups consistently and significantly revealed themselves as feeling more rejected, depressed, withdrawn, paranoid, as well as more socially, emotionally and self-alienated.

The analyses made of groups were of all Indian boys and all Indian girls, degree of Indian blood groups (one-quarter, one-half, three-quarter and full-blood), Indian eighth, ninth and twelfth grades, Indian dropouts in comparison with all Indians and Indian twelfth grade. The Indian girls revealed themselves to be more disturbed than Indian boys in the areas of anxiety, depression, dependance, social and self-alienation. No significant differences on the achievement variables were observed among the blood groups. However, the personality measures revealed that the more Indian blood one had the more disruption he showed, especially in feeling depressed, psychasthenic, rejected and alienated. Of all groups, the Indian dropouts showed the greatest disturbances of all, in feelings of rejection, depression and alienation.

Bryde concludes that the "... concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the behavior of the Indian students studies (p. 190)."

B. Acculturation

It will be useful to establish a relationship between culture and acculturation, and then secondly to set forth a link between acculturation and alienation, and finally to review acculturation studies bearing on the North American Indian.

Beals (1962), the Spindler's (1960) and Luebben (1965) have extensively reviewed the literature in the areas of acculturation, psychology and anthropology, culture and personality, respectively. However, most of the studies analyzed in this section are not specifically covered by these authors. With reference to the whole of the pertinent literature, their opinion, as well as our own, is that to date it is mostly descriptive and largely impressionistic (Beals, p. 375; Spindler, p. 510; Luebben, p. 78; *cf.* also Driver, 1961, p. 553, and Jacobs, 1964, p. 156).

1. Acculturation and culture

With regard to acculturation, the many available studies reveal a variety of definitions, some specific, others mostly general or very vague. The Linton definition is the clearest in our opinion:

"...Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups... (1963, p. 463)."

Acculturation is considered to be an aspect of the broader process of culture change; and assimilation is viewed as being a phase of acculturation (Linton, p. 463). Linton also differentiates between acculturation and diffusion. The latter occurs in all instances of the former, but remains but one dimension of the acculturation process (p. 464). Since our concern is with acculturation as a general process, there is

no need to pursue the preceding distinctions any further.

The above definition is felt to be the most adequate of any. It should be pointed out that the author does not tell us what the "phenomena" are, nor does he explain what the determinants and modes of "first-hand continuous contact" are. This vagueness is perhaps unavoidable since the degree of closeness and continuity of contact in change situations can be very wide. Another weakness here is of the egg-or-chicken-first variety. There are phenomena which occur only under conditions of first-hand contact. Whether such are the "results" of acculturation is an open question. The acculturation situation makes it extremely difficult to understand the causes of its components. It is this difficulty which certainly explains in part the comparatively greater number of descriptive and comparative studies to date in this field - because they are easier - in contrast with attempts bearing on the details of the process of acculturation itself. The Linton-Redfield-Herskovits position is that acculturation is the most complex of contact situations (p. 464). The remainder of this section will point to this complexity.

The study of the dynamics of acculturation is basically an analysis of the processes of cultural change. We now need to discuss the concept of culture. Here again the Linton position is favored. He defined culture as being:

"...the sum total of the knowledge, attitudes and habitual behavior patterns shared and transmitted by members of a particular society (p. 466)."

Such a definition is aprioristic. In Linton's opinion the deductive concept appears to be the best derived thus far for describing

and predicting attitudes and behavior of a particular society's members, and for studying the changes in behavior of a particular society's members, and for studying the changes in behavior which may occur under various conditions (p. 466). The common point made by such constructs is that cultures are adaptive mechanisms, i.e., responses to human needs. Culture is in constant change. The adaptivity can always be improved upon. This inherent imperfection, together with the dissatisfaction of individual members can and does make for culture change. Cultural elements are the things that the individual has to learn or unlearn as a participant in culture change. Under normal conditions of change, no old element is discarded until a satisfactory substitute has been formed for it in all its functional relationships. Under abnormal conditions of change old elements are discarded without satisfactory substitution by new elements. It is at this juncture that one can begin to sense the relationship between abnormal cultural stresses and acculturation.

2. Acculturation and alienation

Whenever the normal change process is inhibited such that there is a series of losses without replacements, then certain needs of the group are not satisfied, derangements in behavior are produced in social and economic relationships, resulting ultimately in profound discomfort for the individuals involved. This global type of response, in the context of this study, is referred to as one of alienation. Cultural stresses make for an anomic situation, eliciting individual responses which are ones of alienation (Bryde, 1966, p. 39; Spilka and Bryde, 1964, p. 6;

Couture, 1967a, p. 5). Some anthropologists refer to this phenomenon as cultural malintegration, maze-way distortion, or use other similar terms, whereas sociologists have called it anomie (Tefft, 1967). What is clear is that both, as well as the psychologists, are referring to the same basic phenomenon irrespective of the term in use. There is disagreement as to whether anomie is essentially a sociological or psychological situation. There is no common understanding as well as to the causes of anomie. Tefft (1967) in his investigation of anomie, values and cultural change presents the essential factors to this quarrel.

The history of contacts between Europeans and natives reveals that the first steps in enforcement of culture change have usually been negative, i.e., certain patterns in the native culture were inhibited (Linton, 1963). In some instances the readjustment was made, whereas in others, as in the case of most of the North American Indians, the period of adaptation has failed to get beyond the point of confusion and discomfort. With regard to the latter point, it is Vogt's (1957, p. 146) opinion that there is a tendency in American analyses of the Indian to de-emphasize the persistent Anglo-American "racial" attitude which is essentially one of colonial puritanism. It is this attitude which presents to the Indian a path of acculturation which is confusing and frustrating. There is no full continuum of acculturation for the generations of Indians to follow, no pattern for them to identify with, a fact which is interestingly in contrast with the acculturation pattern of the Mexican Indian. The American and Canadian Indian is faced with a barrier which he must jump if he is to achieve a fully integrated

position in White society. An interesting phenomenon of the contemporary acculturation scene, and which to a degree fills the need for a pattern of reference, is the growing Pan-Indian movement. Borrowing heavily from Plains culture, this movement is providing a framework within which Indian groups can maintain their sense of identity and integrity as an Indian (Vogt, 1957, p. 146; Molohon, 1967).

3. Indian acculturation

Acculturation studies of the North American Indian may be grouped under two broad headings, neither of which is completely exclusive of the other, i.e., cultural, and psychological.

a. Cultural studies

To date there have been very few attempts, if any, to develop an adequate general theory of acculturation. Most of the studies reviewed here focus on either the process as a whole, or on alleged components of the process, or deal with non-processual aspects of acculturation situations.

Honigmann (1941, pp. 71-73) concludes that while the general configuration of Slave culture has moved from a position of strong self-sufficiency to symbiotic dependance on White culture, Slave Indian individualism has persisted, unaffected by acculturation, even delaying this process. Linton's investigation (1940, pp. 103-105) of seven American tribes leads him to conclude that the only constant phenomenon, resulting when groups of individuals having different cultural backgrounds come into continuous first-hand contact, is the establishment of mutual modifications and adaptations enabling the groups to live together. If

there is opposition on both sides, the amalgamation of the societies and cultures involved will be postponed indefinitely. Margaret Mead's study of the Mississippi Antler woman (1932, pp. 108-112) reveals that cultural breakdown which removes all of the former controls and sanctions results in a differentiated family life. Laura Thompson (1951, pp. 141-145; 149; 220-221) maintains that the core of the Indian cultural crisis is ideological and attains to deeply rooted and persistent basic orientations in the Indian with regard to the nature of the universe.

For want of a better term "component variable studies" might be used with reference to those analyses that expound in terms of "steps", "phases", "elements", "facets", "dimensions", "points"... etc., of the acculturation process. Opinions surely vary as to the number and kinds of interacting variables that make for cultural modification (*cf.* Kraus, 1941; Mekeel, 1932a, 1932b, 1936, with reference to Keesing, 1939, and Firth, 1958; Murdock, 1963; Renaud, 1955, based on Mead, 1955, and Malinowski, 1945; Vogt, 1957). Each of these perspectives does have some degree of merit. They appear to be but partial explanations. One consensus that does arise out of these studies, and underscored by Vogt (1957) is that the one outstanding fact of Indian history is that of the incredibly slow pace of the acculturation of the North American Indian.

In addition to the studies listed above, a number of attempts have been made to research the outcomes of specific situations in acculturation settings. Aginsky (1949, pp. 160-161) investigated how two types of social organization around marriage came about among the Pumo Indians.

Dozier (1951, pp. 172-173) found that the Tewa strongly resist acculturation because the group fosters a great belief in their own cultural and psychic superiority. Esther Goldfrank's Blood Indian study (1945, pp. 57-60) describes how the substitution of an impersonal government reduced the need for cooperation and joint responsibility among the members. Her study of the Teton Sioux (1952, pp. 178-179) reveals that formerly solidarity of the Sioux was rooted in political necessity, whereas today it derives from economic scarcity. Vogt (1948, pp. 223-224) discovered that the success of the Wind River Shoshone sun dance among the Crow Indians was due to the motivation of three leaders. On the basis of case histories of Tsimpshian Indians, Barnett (1941, pp. 166-167) concludes that personal difficulties and incompatibilities are perhaps the stimulus for cultural change, the acceptance of new patterns and standards as being the means of relieving the inner dissatisfaction. It would appear that some kind of personal conflict is a primary motive for invention.

Vogt's (1951, pp. 145-154) observations can well serve as a conclusion to this section. He as well studied the role played by individuals in cultural change. He made a careful study of the degree to which military service changed Navaho veterans, and the degree to which these acculturated veterans influenced Navaho culture upon their return. Generalizing his findings Vogt holds that deviance from traditional Indian social roles, patterns of culture as such, inner conflict and insecurity, sustained White contacts, are the factors which lead to changes in individual value systems and thereby in group organization.

b. Psychological studies

Of first interest are the studies of "basic" or "modal" personality. From his comparative analysis of Chippewa, Dakota and Cheyenne Barnouw (1950, pp. 24-26) affirms that personality variables are of prime importance in the acculturation situation. Differences between the three tribes must be explained in terms of emotional response and attitude as well as in terms of socio-economic conditions. Caudill's (1949, pp. 167-169) investigation of the Wisconsin Ojibwa points to the amazing fact of the persistence of personality structure. In his opinion the main effect of acculturation appears to lie in the breakdown of the old social structure resulting in a society that is merely a grouping of individuals in unstable family units. This concurs with Mead's observations about Antler families (*cf. supra* p. 18). There is agreement again with Mead, as well as with Vogt (*cf. supra* p. 20) and Hallowell (*cf. infra* p. 21) with regard to the role of the native woman in the change process. It would seem that Indian women acculturate better psychologically while remaining comparatively more rooted in the tribal traditions of the past.

Gillin and Raimy (1940, pp. 175-177) also studies the Wisconsin Ojibwa. Their specific interest was in the person as the carrier of culture. They sought to establish that cultural configuration and individual personality cannot be understood without reference one to the other. Hallowell's interests led him to make three studies of the same Ojibwa nation (1941, pp. 180-182; 1950, pp. 182-183; 1952, pp. 183-186). His findings include a) conditions set up by the acculturation process directly precipitate vital problems of personal and social

adjustment for the individual; b) women bear up better under the contact stresses; c) personality is breaking down rather than undergoing reintegration in any new or positive form; d) values are of important significance with regard to the whole problem of mental health and the conditions necessary for its fulfillment. He maintains that evidence warrants the recognition of a persistent core of Ojibwa psychological characteristics to be found at all levels of acculturation. Culturally these Indians appear more and more like Whites, psychologically however they are still Indian. The evidence also points to far more complicated psychological processes than those at work in the process of cultural borrowing and diffusion.

Spindler (1952, pp. 217-219) found in his investigation of the social and psychological functions of the Peyote cult in the overall process of Menomini culture change that the cult gave to the individual members a sense of personal security and resolved for them as well the intense inner conflict between compulsives of the old way of life and the values and modes of satisfaction of western culture.

As a conclusion to this section Macgregor's (1946, pp. 105-108) are apropos. His opinion is that there is a basic conflict between the developing individualism of the white man and the cooperation and sharing of the Indian. He maintains as well that the present social structure of the Teton Sioux for example, their poverty, the lack of adequate roles and cultural objectives, the social conflicts which arise out of lost controls and changing attitudes, are conditions strongly conducive to group and individual insecurity. A sense of cultural loss and a deep feeling of being neither White nor Indian

intensify this insecurity. The latter together with psychological isolation of the adult has its repercussions on the children who are growing up without consistent models to identify with.

The majority of the analyses reviewed above, from both perspectives, seem to point to the fact that cultural confrontation for Indians is a severe stress situation. The pressures of acculturation impinge strongly on the group and on the individual member. The suggestion is that the basic feeling or pattern of response that is thus stimulated is global in nature, and can be referred to as being one of alienation.

B. Alienation

A review of the definitions of alienation together with applications thereof to the Indian will constitute this section.

1. The concept of alienation

a. Sociological-historical definitions

There are two major sociological traditions in the study of deviant behavior (Cloward, 1963, p. 402). The classical expression of the first, known as the "anomie" tradition is to be found in the works of Durkheim, Merton and Marx. The second is to be found in the writings of Shaw, McKay and Sutherland (in Cloward, 1963) and is referred to as the "cultural transmission" and "differential dissociation" tradition.

Durkheim and Marx each are initially responsible for the concepts of anomie and alienation. Durkheim (1960) defines anomie as a state of cultural disorganization and deregulation in which the individual is unable to refer his behavior and that of his fellows to any stable

set of standards. A state of normlessness is thus said to exist (Nettler, 1957; Yinger, 1965). The individual therefore in such a situation is said to respond by developing the psychological state of alienation. To be alienated however is not necessarily tantamount to being normless; it can well be a healthy state (Maslow, 1954; Nettler, 1957; Tillich, 1963).

Anomie is to be viewed as being extraneously produced and as eliciting from the individual therein a behavioral response which is one of alienation. Marx (1962) emphasizes the development of self-estrangement, i.e., the failure to develop a real sense of personal identity in a normless situation. Merton (1963) discerns a relationship between prescribed goals and the organized access thereto by legitimate means - if access is denied, alienated behavior is the result. The Merton extension of the Durkheimian concept in turn is extended by Cloward to include the effect of recourse to illegitimate means as well. MacIver (1960) holds that anomie is a state of mind wherein there is no sense of roots, standards, continuity (see also Van den Berg, 1961; Toynbee, 1960), and that anomie is a disease of the civilized and not of simpler peoples; it is a disease inherent to our times (Arendt, 1963; Barret, 1962; Erikson, 1960; Fromm, 1962; Mills, 1962; Schachtel, 1962; Weiss, 1962).

The Durkheim-Merton position presents alienation as being a many faceted concept. In keeping with this tradition Seeman (1959, 1962, 1963, 1966, 1967) drawing on Rotter (1954) and Fromm (1955) differentiates meaninglessness and self-estrangement; Dean (1961) distinguishes further by adding powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation;

Elmore (1964) on the basis of factor-analysis maintains valuelessness hopelessness and close-mindedness as being the dimensions of alienation.

b. Socio-psychoanalytical definitions

According to Fromm (1962) a state of alienation exists when human relationships become "thingified" through the absence of love, trust and kindness. Short of persistent sameness within self and with others, a person is rootless, alienated (Erikson, 1960, 1963). Benedict (1946), Bettelheim (1962), Goffman (1960), Grinder and McMichael (1963), Hollingshead (1962), Lynd (1963), Mead (1961) Schachtel (1962), Tillich (1963), Weingarten (1962), Weiss (1962) - all write in terms of the nature of, the need for, and the obstacles to the development of a self-identity, without which a person is in a state of alienation.

One might note that there is a certain variety in the vocabulary employed to refer to the phenomenon of alienation, e.g., the incompatible demands of society lead to alienated behavior (Merton, 1963); under anomic conditions no self-identity is possible (Marx); social conditions produce alienated behavior in that they make for a specific set of social learning experiences (Seeman, 1959); there are obstacles to personal achievement and fulfillment (Fromm, 1962); one must go beyond conflict and cultural relativism to universal values in order to attain to genuine individualism (Lynd, 1943); estrangement from and unfriendliness toward one's society is the characteristic of an alienated person (Nettler, 1957) - whatever, these current, typical expressions seem to point to one thing, namely that there is some kind of relationship between social structures and individual behavior, such

that when the former are inhibitive alienated behavior is the result.

2. The Amerindian and alienation

There are only five known studies of the Plains' Indian that utilize an alienation concept (Kerchkoff, 1959; Bryde, 1964, 1966; Spilka, 1964, 1966; Tefft, 1967; Wax, 1964, 1966).

Kerchkoff's concern was with the kind of social context in which a child is reared. He affirms that the more anomic the cultural milieu is, the lower the degree to which the need for achievement becomes part of the Indian child personality. Bryde's efforts follow in an attempt to discern what appears to be a general personality phenomenon. In his opinion, Sioux culture and society, once providant of norms for its members, is currently anomic for all practical purposes, and as a result, the majority of the Sioux are tending to reveal response patterns indicative of alienation and its components. In other words, it would seem reasonable to view the Sioux as actually caught between two cultures, and as literally being outside of, and between both. This position is based on Havighurst (1957) and Paxton (1962). Havighurst contends that the Sioux Indian is a marginal type, "a man of two cultures" (p. 107), the Indian and the White. The same viewpoint is expressed by Paxton with regard to the Hopi. He states that "... the Indian young people are caught between two worlds. They must necessarily be 'marginal' human beings living in the margin of both the white world and the Hopi world (p. 145)."

Spilka, Bryde's mentor, upholds the Seeman five-faceted definition of alienation (*cf. supra* p. 24). In Spilka's estimation the Sioux are not part of and are therefore alienated from the dominant traditional

white culture, which is to be reckoned with for it is here to stay. Because of this Spilka is rightly concerned with the how of the transition into the dominant white value system. Fisher (1968) argues that the Indian is not alienated. In his words "... the Indian may look 'alienated', but really he isn't. His situation is one of being within the complex of 'cultural conflict'. He may be 'alien' to, but not 'alienated' from white culture."

The Wax (1966) study of high school drop-outs points to what appears to be an on-going process which alienates pupils away from school. This process, which begins early in childhood, is in terms of the basic structures of the Sioux social system. At the high school level, socialization is operated by the peer-group. The valued virtue is "raising Cain" which goes directly against what the school requires. This conflict leads to being "pushed out" rather than "dropping out". Tefft (1967) on the basis of Indian student self-perceptions concludes that Arapho Indians are inwardly disoriented and demoralized. Their group is in a constant state of moving towards and rejecting white values. The conflict of norms and goals makes for a lack of self identity.

The question has been raised a number of times with reference to the practicality of the alienation concept. Are there other alternatives? Explanations could conceivably be developed in terms of the development of cognitive style (Witkin, 1965; Spindler, 1963), of "passive resistance" (Fisher, 1967), of "sociosis" in preference to neurosis, a form of which is alienation (Van den Berg, 1962). Erikson (1963) has made an extensive effort to explain Indian behavior in terms of the development of ego identity as influenced by the stresses of cultural

confrontation and/or conflict. Here again, whatever the term used, and especially in Erikson's case, alienation in fact is being described (Bryde, 1964). It would seem that the term is here to stay.

In order to further understand Indian alienation several other considerations can be made. It is felt that reference to the general state of affairs in white North American society, as well as to Indian child rearing practises and Indian school environment is apropos.

The global environment to any Indian group and with which it is in constant interaction is clearly that of American or Canadian white society. This society presently possesses several features that contribute to the alienating process of the Indian. Our society stresses success and achievement in individuals as its primary pattern of values. This self-betterment is conceived of in economic terms (Henry, 1963; Mills, 1962; Porter, 1965; William, 1960). The lower one finds himself on the socio-economic ladder the less likely is the individual to gain the motivation or training necessary towards such success (Goldstein, 1967). The latter is the position of the Indian, by and large. This situation is basically one of emphasis upon certain success goals without providing the means of acceding thereto (see Merton, Cloward).

A second basis for the development of alienation among the Plains' Indian is to be found, it is believed, in the child-rearing practises employed by Indian parents. With reference to this point there is a marked absence of literature describing Canadian Indian practises. There is however, it is assumed, similarities with those of the American Plains' Indian - of the Sioux, for example. The rapid description thereof here derives from a summary of Bryde's descriptions in this

area (Couture, 1967; see also the authors indicated by Bryde: Erikson, 1963, pp. 135-136; Hassrick, 1964, pp. 275-276; Macgregor, 1946, pp. 54, 135, 139-140, 158-159; Mirsky, 1937, pp. 56, 131, 422).

The effect of highly permissive and indulgent upbringing, which is completely contrary to that approved by white parents, is to deeply foster in the Sioux Indian child a close trust and reliance on others about him. The child is given every opportunity to develop independence by being permitted to explore the world without the interference of parents. The role of the elders is simply to cater to the child in every way possible. Discipline in terms of parental authority is totally absent, and it is felt that the child will acquire all necessary knowledge through his experiences with his environment. Since trust and considerateness are esteemed virtues, every effort is made to place adults in a supportive and warm relationship with children. The few controls exercised, which may or may not be adopted by the children are based on warning and shame, rather than on authoritarian direction and guilt training.

Children, so trained, enter school, an institution which is very much a purveyor of traditional white middle class culture. The personnel, the administration, the facilities, textbooks, etc., all represent and advocate the adoption of such values (Wax et al., 1964). Not that these values in themselves are undesirable, but they are, in matter of fact, opposed to those to which most Indian children have been exposed in their pre-school years. Stressing achievement and success in an authoritarian-oriented atmosphere of work and social relationships presents to the Indian child a milieu wherein he cannot find emphasis

on affection and indulgence, feelings to which he was accustomed. The child is now countered by a system which values competition. The acquisition of signs which order the children along a continuum of success and failure and that also provide new labels and differential treatment which tend to order children along a dimension of better to worse is clearly alien and unacceptable to the child and his parents. Failure is interpreted in terms of ridicule and shame, hence withdrawal from and aversion to such standard classroom practises as public recitation, testing, etc. That serious conflict results from such confrontation is to be expected. The response pattern arising out of such a confrontation is seen here as one of alienation.

D. Educational failure

On the basis of the preceding chapter it would seem therefore that there are basic elements which appear to converge and lead to alienation, and which in the case of Indian school children appears to manifest itself in educational conflict or failure. As Spilka (1964, p. 7) puts it:

"Authoritarian practises, competition, individual achievement are all fractionating of social relationships, kindness, cooperation, and generosity, or so they are viewed by the Sioux people, hence the ensuing conflict within the children becomes a significant contributor to the high dropout rates and achievement reductions. The resultant mediating psychological state is alienation, and it is hypothesized that this can be shown to reflect these psychosocial conflicts."

There is an absence of information here again bearing directly on the concept of alienation relative to educational achievement and the early life experiences of Indian children. The preceding quote however does situate our problem. To draw the focus more clearly, reference

should be made at this point to studies on Indian intelligence and to some statistics on Alberta Indians.

Studies of the intellectual abilities of the Blood Indian are non-existent. It is assumed that Blood ability is similar to that of other North American Indians. Bryde (1966, pp. 39-42) and Couture (1965) have both reviewed the available studies of Amerindian intelligence (see Arthur, 1941; Bryde, Van Doornick, Elkind and Spilka, 1965; Coombs, Kron and Collister, 1958; Dennis, 1942; Eells et al, 1951; Fitzgerald and Ludeman, 1926; Garth, 1923; Garth, Serafini and Dutton, 1925; Garth, Shuelke and Abell, 1927; Havighurst and Hilkevith, 1944; Havighurst et al., 1946; Havighurst and Heugarten, 1955; Hunter and Sommermeir, 1922; Hanson, 1937; Jamieson and Sandiford, 1928; MacArthur, 1962, 1965, 1968; Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1960; Norman and Midkiff, 1955; Peters, 1963; Renaud, 1958; Rohrer, 1942; Shuey, 1958; Telford, 1932; Telford, 1938).

All of these studies tend to conclude that lower I.Q. scores among Indians are due to cultural and/or psychological variables and not to genetic weakness, since Indians have the same natural endowment as Whites. For instance, Havighurst (1957) maintains that the explanation lies solely in motivation. It should be noted that the exclusion of genetic factors is unwarranted. The importance of cultural variables is rightfully underscored; however, it must remain an open question, pending data, as to whether genetic influence is not possible. It may well be that some intellectual abilities are highly influenced by evolutionary selection, just as are some physiological variables (MacArthur, 1968b).

The evidence pointing to lower I.Q. scores leads one to expect less

achievement and to anticipate drops in achievement and intelligence with age increase. The relevant studies bear out this prediction (Bryde, 1966, p. 42; Spilka, 1964, p. 1; Spilka and Bryde, 1965, p. 1). With regard to the general problem of Indian academic achievement the reader is referred to: Cowen, 1943; Goodenough, 1926; Havighurst, 1957; Kayser, 1963; Lloyd, 1961; Quimby, 1963; Renaud, 1958; Roessel, 1962; Rist, 1962; Rowe, 1941; Safar, 1964; Thompson, 1963; Townsend, 1963; Turner and Penfold, 1952; Witherspoon, 1962. Profitable reading is to be found in studies on Sioux scholastic achievement: Artichoker, 1958; Bollinger, 1961; Coombs et al., 1958; Deissler, 1962; Fey and McNickle, 1959; Galuzzi, 1960; Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955; Johnson, 1963; Kizer, 1940; Krush et al, 1961; Peterson, 1948; Ross, 1962; Spilka and Bryde, 1964.

Such findings need to be seen as well in light of investigations of "culturally deprived" children. It has been found that they as well not only score low in achievement and intelligence measures, but as they grow older the drop increases (Decter, 1964; Ludeman, 1930; Sherman and Key, 1932; Skeels and Fillmore, 1937; Thorndike, 1940). Such a comparison leads one to assume that likely the alienation-achievement problem of the Indian is not an exclusive characteristic.

The only available statistical evidence is based on records from the Ermineskin and Crowfoot Indian schools. Compiled in the form of line graphs, they reveal a decrease in achievement with increasing age and grade level for Junior High School level (Couture, 1965).

III. Rationale for this study

A. Further discussion of acculturation and alienation

1. Acculturation

One strong impression that comes of the review of the cultural and psychological studies of acculturation is that theory and conceptualization are still in the formative stages. The literature does indicate a consensus as to analyzing acculturation in terms of "stages" or "phases". Beyond this general agreement there is very little with reference to the nature and components of the process, other than to postulate acceptance, syncretism, and reaction, as possible results of culture contact situations (Beals, p. 390). Beyond such generalities, processual analysis remains inadequate.

Psychological studies treating of acculturation and personality have basically the one same objective, namely that of examining the relation between culture generally, or a given culture and the personality of the culture bearers. More specifically, these studies tend to focus on the amount and rapidity of personality change as influenced by the conditions of culture contact, and the relation between personality and the acceptance or rejection of cultural change (Spindler, 1957, 1960, 1965; Beals, 1962). In this regard, the various studies of the Indian have brought to light the fact of a "basic personality structure", and the resilience thereof. Psychologically speaking, this means there is a stability of attitudes over a long period of time despite the vicissitudes of imposed culture change. Culturally speaking, the observed tendency of values is their persistence. In other words, there is a rather long lasting retention

of values and attitudes behind the concrete patterns of culture, e.g. evidence reveals the persistence of a world view congruent with a past aboriginal mode of life. Research also reveals that if there is a shift in behavioral pattern, it is usually regressive and disintegrative in nature. However, positive psychological and cultural changes do occur when the barriers to achievement on the white man's terms are broken down, so that the new adaptation thereby becomes rewarding rather than punitive. In the absence of clear-cut meaningful rewards for psychological and cultural readaptation, the existant total structure based upon the survival of attenuated traditional culture appears to black out whole areas of the cultural environment, allowing only limited learning of western techniques.

Valuable as these conclusions are, they remain however broad and general in nature. The details of the mechanics of acculturation and of the effect on personality remain to be worked out. There are current attempts in this area (Bryde; Spilka). To understand the genesis and functional character of such behavior, as the Spindler's (1965) suggest, new tools need to be devised in order to get at the psychological and socio-cultural processes of the individual perceiving and groping toward new solutions which require the reorganization of thinking and feeling, and which are in part the product of this reorganization. Aware that socio-cultural systems are represented in, but are not identical with the affective and cognitive processes, psychologists might now carefully study such behaviors as the formation of cognitive maps, perceptual structuring, affective controls, values, ego defences, etc. A useful model of the working relationships is yet to be conceptualized.

Opinion is that a flexible, open-ended, problem-oriented approach is needed if the crucial aspects of culture are to be analyzed (Luebben, 1965; Spicer, 1961; Spindler, 1960; Wallace, 1966).

Attempts at culture change formulation have tended to set forth a linear pattern *à la Freud*. Although there is a linear dimension of time to the on-going process, and while it is quite difficult, if not impossible, to get away from a geometrical pattern, theoretical conceptualization could be in terms of such inter-penetrating and inter-related processes of differentiation-integration, culturally and psychologically, and investigation might be envisaged as geared to the grasping of the actual situation and the probable inherent orientation thereof. Barkow (1967) insists that cross-cultural studies require a model that precludes the concept of causality in its temporal sense because the investigator is faced with a macrosystem or network of inter-dependant factors, each one being a limiting influence on each other. One would hope to find however that within this network of repeating and reciprocal relationships among variables, some variables would appear as more linked or more salient than others, e.g. the dimension of alienation.

2. Alienation and the Indian

Use of the concept of alienation in itself appears to present two problems. One difficulty is with regard to definition or meaning of the word. This problem of logic arises primarily from the fact that a number of disciplines employ the term. Historically, as we have seen, alienation is sociological in origin, deriving from mass society

theory. It is still in use in sociology. It is also a favorite term with historian-philosophers as well as with social psychoanalysts. Feuer's opinion (1963, p. 127) is that in the sociological tradition this concept has been primarily used as a key ethical concept, a prism as it were, through which the world is viewed. The various attempts at definition appear to have been concerned with whether alienation is "global", "general", "multi-faceted", or "multi-dimensional" in nature as opposed to being unilateral. Consensus is that alienation is a complex process, the features of which are still quite elusive. It is believed that alienation is a multi-form or multi-dimensional construct. This position does raise the question as to whether it can be given precise operational meaning and be useful for social analysis (see Dean, 1959; Seeman, 1959; Elmore, 1963; Cartwright, 1966; Neal and Rettig, 1967). Research is presently underway to elaborate the differential relationships of alienation constructs with one another and with other social constructs under varying social conditions (Neal and Rettig, 1967).

What alienation refers to is a second problem. Is it a process or a result of a process" a subjective state, or both? What are the conditions or components thereof? the bases or causes? What combination of factors fuse to produce it? Is it a syndrome, a pathological state, or can it be a matter of choice a healthy state therefore (Maslow, 1954; Nettler, 1957; Tillich, 1963)? Is the latter possible within a modern society that appears to be alienated and alienating (*cf. supra*, p. 24)?

The real difficulty regarding the meaning of the term and its referents lies especially in the area of the modes of alienation. The

contributing factors to this situation are once again due to different academic disciplines employing the term as an analytical instrument from within differing theoretical frameworks; secondly, it appears that investigators have difficulty because of the fact that they are confronted with defining a quality, which has both dimension and direction, and is found in all areas of human experience, i.e. when alone, or when in a group; and a final difficulty stems from the inherent and perennial problem of translating an idea into a unit of behavior that can be given mathematical formulation.

A further problem is to formulate alienation in terms of the broader process of acculturation. The search should be for a schema for classifying individual responsivity relative to the broader social contexts in which behavior occurs. Such a macrosystem should be conceived of as an intra-individual behavioral complex inseparable from that of the psycho-sociological context with which there is constant interaction. The system might be viewed as two networks of interacting and interdependant variables.

Some attention should also be given to the area of the sources of alienation. Whatever the vocabulary used (*cf. supra*, p. 24) and particularly with reference to the Indian situation as connoting social structures, poverty, lack of adequate roles and cultural objectives - social conflicts arising out of lost controls and changing attitudes - such conditions seem to warrant the definition of some global causative reality, external to the individual, and which makes for an alienated behavioral outlook. According to Hoyt (1962) and Spilka (1964), it is out of such general psycho-social conditions that high rates of crime, delinquency, alcoholism, truancy and mental disturbance develop. Again

taking the Sioux as an example, Erikson (1950) maintains that for the last one hundred years of Indian existence the integrative mechanisms at play in Sioux culture did not manage to inspire them to sustain a new and promising system of significant social roles, as they did before when the Sioux were buffalo hunters.

Within the above framework of requirements, the Bryde-Spilka theory of alienation appears to be a useful explanation of the situation of the Indian. The essential base to their view appears to consist in confronting the problem of articulating individual responsivity as relative to and dependant of the broader socio-anthropological context within which Indian behavior occurs. Their position is also helpful, basic even to explaining the puzzling, very troubling and undesirable behavior and conditions found on reservations generally. Open to question, however, is the statement affirming that the Sioux are between two cultures and are not of either. Regardless of the prevailing psycho-social conditions on a reserve, Indians do have a way of life of their own. The point that should be made is simply that Indians are in a different culture. They are in a process of acculturation due to our own culture impinging on theirs, and theirs on ours. Perhaps the expressions of "cultural conflict", and "personality conflict" are more apt. It is debatable. Because of a growing literature, the term of alienation is with us. Whatever the conceptual and statistical shortcomings of its usage, as an explanation of observable behavior of Indians, it is a contribution to theoretical construction in the area of the psycho-cultural phenomenon of Indian acculturation. It is a step towards answering the need, as Mead (1960) points out, for an adequate psycho-

logical theory of the processes of cultural influences on behavior and of the nature of character, as well as for an adequate cultural theory of formation, and of the way in which individual behavior is to be referred to a cultural and societal base.

A final observation is with reference to the fact of the White dominant culture. Because of its size and apparent permanence, it must be reckoned with. For perspective in the use of the Bryde theory of alienation, one should remember whether one's own viewpoint is from within the minority looking out, as it were, or whether it is that of the dominant culture looking in on the minority. In terms of White cultural values, it can be said that the Indian, objectively speaking, is alienated from our society. Within his own society he may well be tending towards self-alienation. He may also in terms of his own culture not be alienated. Western ethnocentrism inclines one to regard any Indian behavior that is different from White behavior as being deviant. Such a view is not necessarily justified, simply because the Indian does not share White values. It is felt that "Indian behavior" presents currently a continuum, the limits of which on the one hand would be between what Macgregor (1955) refers to as a negative and crippling situation, and on the other hand to what Erikson (1939) indicates as the possibility of a relatively rich and spontaneous existence within the limits of poverty and general listlessness.

The Bryde-Spilka attempt may be regarded as a major breakthrough in the field of Indian education problems. Their effort needs follow-up, verification and extension. In the light of this, the following statement of purpose, of definitions, of assumptions and of hypotheses

for this investigation are presented.

B. Purpose of this study

The general purposes of this study were indicated at the end of the first chapter. The main focus is to determine what significant differences there are, if any, for a sample of 247 Blood Indian students and 690 White students, in grades seven, eight, nine, on 28 personality variables, ethnic status, grade, sex, school achievement, and occupational status.

More specifically:

1. A comparison of the Blood and White students of the above sample on personality variables will reveal what differences when measured by 28 scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (hence forth called MMPI). Are there factor patterns for the Whites and for the Indians? are there significant differences between the two?

Will the comparison of the two groups reveal that there are severe emotional and personality problems on the part of the Blood pupils? What will comparisons of the total sample with one Blood sub-sample indicate when the latter group is further measured by additional personality measures?

Will any of the findings be significantly different from those of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b)?

2. For the same total sample again, what differences in achievement are there between the White and Blood students? Are there differences in favor of the Indian student? if so, at what grade levels? What trend(s), if any, is (are) there in Indian achievement scores as compared with those of the White pupils?

How will these findings compare with those of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b)?

3. What differences are there on the personality and achievement variables between low achievers and dropouts and high achievers and continuands within the total Blood student group. Can signs of poorer adjustment be found on the part of the former?

How will these results in turn compare with those of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b)?

4. It is suspected that the emotional and personality problems observed amongst Indians generally are not exclusive to Indians, but is a characteristic of peoples of low socio-economic status. How then do these Blood students who show signs of adjustment difficulty contrast with White students who have similar emotional problems if compared in terms of occupational status of their parents or guardians? How does the total Blood group compare with the White group with regard to occupational status?

C. Definitions

For the purpose of this study, the following concepts are defined:

1. Acculturation is a dynamic, complex, on-going process. Its component phenomena, according to Linton (*cf. supra*, p. 14) "... result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original..." material culture and/or behavioral patterns of either or both contact groups.

2. Culture is normative, a shared way of life - a group characteristic manner of responding to human needs. This adaptivity is something that is transmitted, that can and does change, and that can be improved

upon, or that can be inhibited.

3. Personality is a dynamic, reactive product - a resultant complex of consistent behavioral patterns, of the partially unique relationship between each individual and his culture. Modification in the culture will usually entail modification in the patterned group and/or individual response (see Spindler's, 1965, pp. 34-38).

4. Alienation is a global type of group and/or individual response. It has several dimensions, or facets, e.g. powerlessness, feelings of depression of rejection, social isolation, self-estrangement, normlessness... etc. It occurs whenever normal culture change is inhibited resulting in unsatisfied group and/or individual needs. It is a derangement in behavior which manifests itself in social and economic relationships, and can ultimately lead to profound inner discomfort for those involved.

5. Educational attainment or academic achievement is, according to pre-determined standards, the degree of success as measured by standardized and non-standardized tests of achievement. To achieve below a set level for a given grade is to fail.

D. Assumptions

1. There are ascertainable correlates of the observed decline in relative achievement of Indian Junior High School students, and these are at least partly of an order other than strictly intellectual. Further, these are other than the usual White adolescent conflicts since in general, White students of the same ages do not demonstrate similar declines in achievement (Bryde, 1966, p. 52).

2. White Indian culture generally has always been dependant on external non-social factors, e.g. for purposes of hunting and fishing, there were nevertheless specific Indian cultures. The advent of white culture has had the effect of bringing Indian cultures from a state largely of self-sufficiency to one characterized by a relatively high degree of symbiotic dependance. For the most part, in varying degrees, new and conflicting patterns have been forced on the Indian.

The individual Indian and the group of which he is a member in such a situation tends to utilize behavior that is congruent with the tribal values; at the same time, in the case of the Blood Indians, the traditional response patterns of physical bravery, generosity, and individual autonomy have been modified by changes in ecological and economic conditions. These traditional patterns can, conceivably, and probably do in fact, re-emerge in new behavioral modes. But, with reference to white culture, the Indian who attempts to meet white norms with his Indian values would meet with frequent if not constant frustration. In terms of his own culture, he may or may not experience inner frustration.

3. White ethnocentrism tends to demand white behavior of the Indian, despite the fact that the Indian does not share western values. Whites tend to regard any Indian behavior different from their own as deviant, and therefore unacceptable. In terms of conflict of values, a basic example of confusion leading to conflict would be between white ideas of individualism and striving for economic success on the one hand, and the Indian manner of competition and striving on the other.

4. One of the results of impinging white culture on Indian societies

of the Plains, and on Blood Indian society particularly, has been to atomize such societies to some degree, possibly bringing about the alienation of numbers of individual society members. This does not necessarily imply that the Indian is alienated from himself or his community. Such an implication would depend upon the accurate identification of the individual's reference group as Indian, White, or both. Whether the Indian is "marginal", or "between two cultures", or has his own viable culture, may be a matter of point of view or which Indian group.

The position taken here is that the Indians are not between two cultures, but that various Indian groups are on an evolutionary continuum. That these groups are changing is normal expectation, but that most Indian groups are experiencing considerable difficulty in the process is considered to be a primary research issue. Research reveals that there is a long lasting retention of values and attitudes parallel to the concrete changes taking place in Indian cultures. There are a number of areas where these tend to be felt, e.g. as provoked by institutional intolerance, or as manifest in conflict between an institution and the individual.

Thus on the other hand, culturally speaking, the situation is one of the strains and stresses attendant to culture contact, while on the other hand, psychologically speaking, it is one of the impact on Indian personality of new demands. In relation to the dominant white culture the Indian might be referred to as being alienated, but again perhaps only inasmuch as he is outside the white majority group. In situations where culture conflict prevents the expression of a traditional

pattern of values in aspects of living which are motivationally important to the Indian, then signs of self-alienation may appear, e.g. perhaps the only job or available work would force the Indian to leave his reserve - this causes conflict between the expression of the need to work and maintain himself and would be opposed by his traditional values of family life, closeness to community and other possible motives that might inhibit his departure. In other situations of cultural conflict a parallelism in terms of solution may be developed which would enable the Indian to preserve the older values in the service of a new pattern, or a new need.

E. Hypotheses

On the basis of the preceding set of assumptions, it is hypothesized in general terms, in concurrence with Bryde (1966, p. 53), that the impact of Blood-White value conflicts which occur at the adolescent level induce in the Blood student personality deviations that hinder educational attainment.

The following more specific hypotheses are set:

1. There are significant differences on personality variables between White and Blood Junior High School students.
 - a. There are severe personality and emotional problems on the part of some Blood Indian students as compared with Whites.
 - b. There are no significant differences from the findings of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b).
2. There are significant differences in achievement between White and Blood Junior High School students.

- a. There will be significant differences between the Indian children and test norms in favor of the Indian students, up to the sixth grade inclusive in achievement.
- b. There is a trend for Indian achievement scores to become significantly less than those of White students with the beginning of the seventh grade.
- c. The decline in Blood pupil achievement will be observed to continue such that White achievement scores at the Junior High level are significantly higher than those of Blood students.
- d. There are no significant differences from the findings of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b).

3. There are significant differences on personality variables within the Blood student group.

- a. A number of personality variables are related to grade and sex; the personality scores of Indian low achievers and school dropouts reveal significant signs of poorer adjustment than those of higher achievers and continuands.
- b. There are no significant differences from the findings of Bryde (1966) and Couture (1968b)

4. The observed emotional problems of the Blood Indian students are not exclusive to them.

IV. Data collection

A. Subjects

This study will include 247 Blood Indian pupils and 690 White pupils of grades seven, eight and nine, enrolled in the following

schools: St. Mary's, Blood Reserve, Cardston; Cardston Junior High, Cardston; Magrath Junior High, Magrath; Catholic Central High, Lethbridge; MacLeod Junior High, Fort MacLeod. This study will not present profile comparisons of senior high students, as did Bryde (1966), simply for want of numbers of Blood students at this level. This investigation will measure virtually all Blood students at this level for the current academic year of 1967-68.

B. Instruments

The MMPI will be administered to all subjects. There is an abundance of literature on the MMPI (*cf.* Benton, Eysenck, Rotter, in Buros, 1949; Ellis, Norman, in Buros, 1959; Hathaway and Meehl, 1951; Hathaway and Monachesi, 1963). The standard 14 MMPI scales will be augmented by 14 others from the Dana Compendium (1956), i.e. Anxiety (A); Repression (R); Achievement (Ac); Ego Strength (Es); Dependency (Dy); Subjective Depression (D1); Mental Dullness (D4); Need for Affection and Reinforcement from Others (Hy2); Authority Conflict (Pd2); Social Alienation (Pd4a); Self-Alienation (Pd4b); Ideas of External Influence (Pal); Social Alienation (Scla); Emotional Alienation (Sc1b). It is the latter 14 scales that yielded the significant results in the Bryde investigation. According to Bryde (1967), with reference to Arthur (1945), the L, K, and F scales have not revealed any significant differences pointing to the invalidity of the cross-cultural application of the MMPI. The Pilot Study (Couture, 1968b) reveals high F scores at the grade seven level. The grade seven results of the proposed investigation may therefore need to be studied completely apart.

Other personality measures will be employed. The Marlowe-Crowne Alienation Prejudice Scale (MCAP) is a composite of three separate scales, i.e. the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne and Marlowe, 1960) containing 33 items; the Dean Alienation Scale (Dean, 1960, 1961; Dean and Reeves, 1962) made up of 24 items; Struening Prejudice Scale (Struening, 1963) comprising 16 questions.

Alienation and its three aspects, powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation are measured by the Dean Alienation Scale. The prejudicial expressions of students are measured by the Struening Scale. The latter is a factor pure scale controlled for acquiescent response set and correlates non-significantly with measures of social desirability (Spilka and Reynolds, 1965). Each item is weighted in terms of the magnitude of its loading on a factor of prejudice (Struening, 1963).

Though originally interpreted as a measure of the tendency to give socially desirable answers on personality inventories, this instrument has been successfully employed as an indicator of needs for social approval (Marlowe, 1962).

Significant results were obtained by Spilka and Bryde (1964) in the use of the latter three scales.

The Stanford Achievement Test Battery (1964 Revision) will be administered in all five schools. The choice of this test is simply due to an existant policy in the Cardston school division which indicates the administration of this particular battery for the first part of June of each year. The two remaining schools have accepted to use the same test. This battery is one of the most recent attempts to measure

content rather than mere factual knowledge. Validity and reliability r 's are acceptable (Gage, 1959; Bryan, 1965).

V. Analysis and interpretation of data

It should be remembered that the following design is tentative, and therefore subject to modification.

Hypothesis One

Means and standard deviations will be computed on all personality scales. t tests will be applied to ascertain significance between the groups. Factor analyses will be made in order to compare factor patterns obtained for the Indian pupils and Whites.

Hypothesis 1a will be tested by means of an intercorrelation matrix tested for significant correlation coefficients. An intercorrelation study will be made of one sub-sample of Blood students, including further variables (intelligence, alienation, social approval, prejudice, values orientation). Hypothesis 1a will also be examined by the application of analysis of covariance techniques. t tests will be used for Hypothesis 1c.

Hypothesis Two

Means and standard deviations will be calculated for achievement scores of the White and Blood students; to be followed by t tests for significance between the groups. Hypotheses 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d will be treated in a similar manner.

Hypothesis Three

Means and standard deviations will be established for all of the

personality scales. *t* tests will be applied to find significant differences between the groups. Analyses of variance will be performed for the comparisons among the Indian groups (grades seven, eight, nine) with application of the Scheffé test to locate the differences. Hypothesis 3a, will be tested in the preceding manner. *t* tests will apply for Hypothesis 3b.

Hypothesis Four

Means and standard deviations computed for Hypothesis 1b will be compared with the means and standard deviations of White students revealing emotional problems. Correlations will be established with occupational status.

VI. Implications of the study

It is expected that the results of this study will confirm the conclusions of Bryde, which appear to point the way to a new approach in Indian education. Further research might very well establish that a central behavioral pattern of alienation as manifest in feelings of rejection, depression and anxiety indicates an absence of effective identification with Indian heritage, as well as with a hostile, white world. Indian self-image is a very important area for investigation. Some research already indicates that Indian self-concept is negative and crippling.

The effects of Indian child-rearing practises also begs research. It has been suggested that perhaps the prevalent practises do not prepare the Indian child for today's white world, and that thereby potentially prepare for serious psycho-social alienation. An equally

important area for study is that of the school. A re-examination, and most likely a re-adaption, of the total psycho-social structure of our schools for Indians would be required in order to remove the alienating effects thereof.

Pending such radical action, within the various schools as they are presently, and since it would be impossible to give each alienated youth the therapy necessary to overcome his emotional problems caused by cultural conflict, there would be the alternative of dealing with groups and classes and there apply techniques similar to those of group therapy in developing mental health courses designed to lead the Indian youth out of his anomic condition and to teach him how to achieve emotional stability within the cross-cultural stresses impinging on him. Such a course might be called acculturation psychology of modern Indian psychology.

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